

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9716

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 0774

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, BC
SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENTS

REF: STATE 38356

PART I - POLICY ASSESSMENTS

A. U.S. INTERESTS

1. PRINCIPAL LONG-TERM U.S. INTERESTS IN BOTSWANA. THE OVER-
RIDING U.S. OBJECTIVE IN BOTSWANA IS TO SUPPORT AND STRENG-
THEN THE REGIME OF PRESIDENT SERETSE KHAMA AND THE PRINCIPLES
AND POLICIES FOR WHICH HE STANDS. AS ONE OF THE FEW REMAINING
DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL, MAJORITY-RULED GOVERNMENTS IN AFRICA
DEDICATED TO ACHIEVING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN
PROBLEMS, BOTSWANA'S FUTURE IS SYNONYMOUS WITH, AND CAN BE
SAID TO EMBODY, THE KEY LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE U.S.
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. U.S. INTERESTS IN BOTSWANA INCLUDE CONTINUED
WESTERN ACCESS TO ITS MINERAL RESOURCES.

2. THE S/P PAPER FORESEES PERSISTENT REGIONAL INSTABILITY
AND IDENTIFIES AND PROJECTS RADICALIZING TRENDS OF THE PAST
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TWO YEARS, AS ILLUSTRATED BY EVENTS IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE.
I AGREE THAT INSTABILITY AND RADICALIZATION ARE BECOMING DOM-
INANT FORCES IN THE REGION AND THAT THEY CONSTITUTE A FUNDAMENTAL
THREAT TO BOTSWANA AND ITS POLICIES AND HENCE TO BOTH SHORT-
AND LONG-TERM U.S. INTERESTS.

B. OVERVIEW

1. RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE THE MOST LIKELY ARENAS OF CONTINUING CONFLICT IN FY 1979. THEY CAUSE INCREASING INSTABILITY AND RADICALIZATION IN BOTSWANA WHICH ARE INIMICAL TO BOTSWANA'S FUTURE (AND TO U.S. INTERESTS). THE THRUST OF U.S. POLICY IN FY 79 SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD RESISTING THOSE FORCES. TO DO SO WILL REQUIRE (S) A U.S. POLICY OF ACTIVELY PURSUING NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND (B) REFUGEE RELIEF AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE BOTSWANA'S STABILITY AND TO RESIST RADICALIZATION. THE PRESENT U.S. POLICY, E.G., OF SUPPLEMENTING UK EFFORTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA AND OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO THE RURAL POOR, IS NOT LIKELY TO SLOW THE STEADY ADVANCE OF RADICAL DESTABILIZING FORCES WHICH, INTER ALIA, PRESCRIBE RESOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM BY VIOLENCE AND POLARIZE THE CONFRONTATION IN (AND WITH) SOUTH AFRICA ALONG RACIAL LINES. IN BRIEF, CONTINUATION OF CURRENT U.S. POLICIES AND PRESENT REGIONAL TRENDS WILL FIND THE U.S. (AND THE WEST) BY FY 79 AN INFLUENCE OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE IN BOTSWANA -- AND IN THE REGION.

C. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION AND ISSUES IN FY 79

TO SUPPORT U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES, WE PROPOSE POLICY CHANGES IN, AND INTENSIFIED USE OF, FOUR PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENTS AVAILABLE TO US IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER OF PRIORITY:

1. OBJECTIVE: TO STRENGTHEN THE BOTSWANA EXPERIMENT IN
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DEMOCRACY, MAJORITY RULE AND NON-RACIALISM.

COURSE OF ACTION: MID- AND LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE INCLUDING INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS AS PROPOSED IN THE FARAH MISSION REPORT.

ISSUE: USAID IS CUMBERSOME AND UNRESPONSIVE AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR EXERCISING U.S. POLICY INFLUENCE AND ENHANCING GOB STABILITY. AID APPEARS TO RESIST INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS SO VITAL TO A LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRY. THE KEY ISSUES ARE (A) FLEXIBILITY TO PERMIT INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT, AND (B) SIMPLIFIED PROCEDURES TO ENHANCE THE RESPONSIVENESS OF U.S. BILATERAL ASSISTANCE.

2. OBJECTIVE: TO RELIEVE THE DESTABILIZING PRESSURES OF THE ANTICIPATED PRESENCE OF OVERWHELMING NUMBERS OF REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA.

COURSE OF ACTION: SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM ASSISTANCE TO THE

GOB FOR REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA.

ISSUE: THE U.S. HAS GIVEN ONE MILLION DOLLARS TO UNHCR FOR REFUGEES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED ASSISTANCE, BOTH MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL, E.G., AS OUTLINED IN FARAH MISSION REPORT, WILL BE NECESSARY IN FY 79 AS WELL AS SIMPLIFIED PROCEDURES FOR CHANNELING IT TO THE GOB AND TO REFUGEES.

3. OBJECTIVE: TO STRENGTHEN THE GOB BUREAUCRACY AND ITS ABILITY TO DEVELOP AUTONOMOUSLY.

COURSE OF ACTION: SHORT- AND MID-TERM ASSISTANCE TO HELP MEET MID-LEVEL MANPOWER NEEDS.

ISSUE: THE PRESENT NUMBER OF 120 PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS AND 20 U.S. TECHNICIANS WILL LIKELY NEED TO BE INCREASED BY
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FY 79 IN ORDER TO MEET EXPECTED REQUESTS FROM THE GOB.

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4. OBJECTIVES: TO EXPLAIN U.S. POLICIES AND DEVELOP GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. LIFE AND CULTURE, GIVING CAREFUL ATTENTION TO BOTSWANA STUDENTS, PARTICULARLY AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL, AND REFUGEES WHO USE THE USIS CENTER AS A

GATHERING POINT AND READING ROOM.

COURSE OF ACTION: ENLARGE AND EXPAND INFORMATION PROGRAMS, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, ACADEMIC COUNSELING AND CONTACTS WITH ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERS.

ISSUE: WE EXPECT USIS OPERATIONS TO GROW RAPIDLY WITH RECENT ARRIVAL OF PAO. INCREASED RESOURCES WILL BE NECESSARY BY FY 79 TO MEET USIS NEEDS OF BATSWANA AND REFUGEES.

CONCLUSION: ALTHOUGH REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT IS AN IMPORTANT POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AT THIS STAGE REMAINS ESSENTIALLY A PASSIVE ONE THAT CAN HAVE LITTLE EFFECT IN ADVANCING U.S. INTERESTS IN BOTSWANA OF (A) ENHANCING STABILITY, (B) PROMOTING NON-RACIALISM, (C) ENCOURAGING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, AND (D) PROMOTING DEVELOPMENT.

IN VIEW OF THE DIRECTION OF EVENTS, WE WOULD QUESTION THE
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ASSUMPTION IN THE AF PARM PAPER (STATE 050086) THAT THE PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE MAY BE "WELL UNDERWAY" BY FY 79. (AT THE TIME OF WRITING, PRESIDENTS PODGORNÝ AND CASTRO ARE VISITING NEIGHBORING SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES PROMOTING AND SUPPORTING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.) THE THEME OF THIS PAPER IS THAT U.S. INFLUENCE AND POLICY WILL HAVE TO BE PROJECTED MORE DIRECTLY AND ADVANCED MORE ACTIVELY IF THE U.S. IS TO CONSTITUTE A FORCE FOR STABILITY AND THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
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